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ABSTRACT

A preliminary investigation was conducted to determine the extent of linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature. The findings indicate the use of loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts, but no examples of hybrid creation and grammatical borrowing. The use of loans correlates with characters marked by negative social qualities, which expresses a common attitude toward the use of nonstandard forms. It is concluded that the use of Chicano loanwords by Chicano authors is limited. However, the analysis gives a clear indication of the types of loans used by Chicano authors, and the results help to define the relationship between Chicano literature and Chicano sociolinguistics. Contains 26 references. (Author/LB)

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LINGUISTIC BORROWING IN CHICANO LITERATURE

Eliverio Chávez

Abstract: A preliminary investigation was conducted in order to ascertain the extent of linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature. The findings indicate the use of loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts, but no examples of hybrid creation and grammatical borrowing. The use of loans correlates with characters marked by negative social qualities, which expresses a common attitude toward the use of nonstandard forms. The results help to define the relationship between Chicano literature and Chicano sociolinguistics.

Languages in contact inevitably result in linguistic borrowing, and the interchange of lexica between English and Spanish has been the focus of numerous studies (Fraser 1975). The fact that this phenomenon is also manifest in Chicano literature is not unexpected. In truth, many Chicano authors are acutely aware of the manifestations of linguistic hybridism which result in heterogeneous forms such as code-switching and linguistic borrowing. As a consequence, some Chicano writers have tried to imitate these phenomena through a fiction of mimesis (Keller 1979). The extent to which these writers are able to duplicate the speech patterns of the speech community is based on their knowledge of linguistics as well as their perception of linguistic norms within the Chicano community. Admittedly, some Chicano authors use loans purely for stylistic purposes, which do not conform to the sociolinguistic norms of the community. However, the production of these aberrant forms indicate that the linguistic process is viable even though the product is atypical.

With respect to the sociolinguistic norms of a speech community, there are lexical classes which are more susceptible to borrowing. There is a consensus amongst linguists that members of the open class such

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as nouns, verbs and adjectives are more readily borrowed than those of closed classes such as pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. There is also a general agreement that nouns are the most frequently borrowed class (Bynon 1979). For example, Higa (1979), in a study which investigated the parts of speech comprising English loanwords in Japanese, reports that of the 5,018 English loans which were studied, 4,606 or 91.8 percent were nouns. A study by Espinosa (1917) on the influence of English on New Mexican Spanish also supports the notion that nouns are more frequently borrowed. In his study nouns comprise 69.2 percent of the total while verbs comprise 11.4 percent and adjectives, 7.1 percent.

The classification of loans based on types has been treated by various linguists; for example, Higa (1979) formulated a typology of word-borrowing based on the relationship between the dominant and subordinate culture as well as national borders. Weinreich (1963), who conducted research on problems related to the psychological and sociocultural setting of bilingualism and language contact, has suggested various ways in which loanwords can affect the receiving lexicon. However, the standard of excellence in the description and classification of linguistic borrowing is undoubtedly, the study by Haugen (1950), and it is Haugen's classification which will serve as a basis for the analysis of linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature in the present study.

Definition of Operational Terms

The following outline will provide a condensed treatment of Haugen's analysis and will serve as a definition of operational terms. It should be noted that Haugen's treatment has been revised in the category of grammatical borrowing.

I. ANALOGUE: lexical terms that are interlingually similar. (ex. Span. carta and Eng. card)
   A. Homophone: the interlingual similarity is purely phonetic. (ex. Span. ganga 'bargin' and Eng. gang)
   B. Homologue: the interlingual similarity is purely semantic. (ex. Span. peso and Eng. dollar)

II. LOANWORD: lexical terms that are characterized by semantic importation and complete substitution of native phonemes.

(ex. SW Span. espauda borrowed from Eng. yeast powder)

III. LOANBLEND: lexical terms that exhibit morphemic substitution as well as morphemic importation.
   A. Blended Stem (ex. espeletrear in which the stem is comprised of Eng. spell and Span. deletre-a-r)
   B. Blended Derivative (ex. baquear in which the term is derived from Eng. to backup and the Span. morphemes a and r: the thematic vowel and marker of infinitive respectively)
   C. Blended Compound (ex. Glenrío which consists of components that are words: Eng. glen and Span. río)

IV. LOANSHIFT: lexical terms and phrases that demonstrate morphemic substitution and semantic importation as well as functional shifts of native morphemes.
   A. Loan Translation: compound substitution which results in the translation of the constituents of a compound term. (ex. escuela alta which is a translation of Eng. high school)
   B. Syntactic Substitution: morphemic substitution which extends to complete phrases. (ex. tener buen tiempo from Eng. to have a good time)
   C. Semantic Loan: native terms in which semantic importation is the only indication of borrowing.
      1. Loan Homonym: terms in which the borrowed meaning has nothing in common with the original meaning. (ex. Span. yarda: the original meaning is a unit of length equal to three feet; the borrowed meaning is an area or plot of grass at the rear or in front of a house or building)
      2. Loan Synonym: terms which are characterized by semantic overlapping between the original meaning and the borrowed meaning; the semantic importation adds a new shade of meaning to the native morpheme. (ex. Span. lectura: the original meaning is 'reading'; the borrowed meaning is 'lecture')

a. Semantic Displacement: terms from the native language are applied to novel cultural phenomena that are similar to cultural phenomena in the native culture. (ex. Span. dos reales displaces Eng. quarter)
b. Semantic Confusion: terms in which semantic distinctions in the native language are lost through the influence of partial interlingual synonymity between the donor language and the borrowing language. (ex. Span. librería imports semantic properties from Eng. library producing semantic confusion as librería is substituted for biblioteca)

V. HYBRID CREATION: terms which are created within the borrowing language due to contact with a foreign culture, but are not imitations of a foreign model in that no model exists in the foreign language. (ex. Yaqui liósnóoka 'to pray' from Span. Dios and Yaqui nóoka 'speak')

VI. GRAMMATICAL BORROWING: changes in syntax due to influence and interference from a foreign language.
A. Intraphrasal loans (ex. mi tío's cama from Eng.possessive construction my uncle's bed)
B. Interphrasal loans (ex. No tengo nadie que estudiar con. from Eng. I don't have anyone to study with. This loan interferes with the embedding of a relative clause.)

Linguistic Analysis

The following analysis of Chicano literature includes works which were written primarily in Spanish and/or works in which there was a deliberate effort by the author to imitate the nonstandard linguistic forms generated by the Chicano speech community. As a consequence, no effort was made to examine literature in which there was a conscious attempt to utilize educationally prescribed lexical items and syntactic constructions.

All the writers included in the analysis are considered to be major authors in their respective genre (Bruce-Novoa 1980; Tatum 1982). Two of the three novelists included in the present study were winners of an annual literary prize, the Premio Quinto Sol: Tomás Rivera in 1970 for ...y no se lo tragó la tierra, and Rolando Hinojosa in 1972 for Estampas del valle y otras obras. Both of these works were analyzed for the present study. The third novelist, Miguel Méndez M., in addition to being one of the leading novelists is also one of the masters of the Chicano short story (Tatum 1982). His collection of short stories, Tata Casehua y otros cuentos, and his novel, Peregrinos de Aztlán, are both included in the analysis. Two poets are represented in the present study: Alurista (Alberto Urista) and Sergio Elizondo. Both are considered to be major social poets (Tatum 1982). The poetic works included in the examination of borrowing are Alurista's Floricanto en Aztlán, one of his earlier books of poetry, and Elizondo's two books of poetry, Perros y antiperros and Libro para batos y chavalas chicanas. The playwright who was chosen for the analysis, Luis Valdez, is undoubtedly the most influencial dramatist in the development of Chicano theater (Huerta 1982). The book of plays examined in the present study, Actos, is a compilation of dramatic forms called "actos" and represents various works by Luis Valdez and other members of El Teatro Campesino, a Chicano theater group founded by Valdez.

With regard to linguistic borrowing, all the authors included in the analysis utilize various forms of loans. However, two writers are especially noted for their use of nonstandard lexical constructions: Miguel Méndez M. and Alurista. Méndez uses a complicated blend of standard Spanish, Mexicanisms, pachuquismos, and a mixture of Spanish, English and Yaqui. In a similar manner, Alurista has developed a unique style of poetry with his combination of English, Spanish, and barrio slang (Tatum 1982). In essence, the authors and works in the present analysis offers a representative sample of linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature.

A preliminary examination of the literature indicates that Chicano authors use a subsantial number of loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts; however, hybrid creations and grammatical borrowings are virtually nonexistent. With regard to loanwords, this category was utilized by practically every author whose work was analyzed, and loans of this type were present

in every literary genre. A few examples include fonis < funnies, i.e., comic strips; dompe < dump; trocas < trucks (Rivera 1976: 9, 17, 83), birria < beer; güaino < wino (Méndez 1979: 23, 45), lonchi < lunch (Méndez 1980: 89), cherifes < sheriffs (Elizondo 1977: 28), yaque < jack (Hinojosa 1973: 23), files < fields; esteche < station; tíquete < ticket (Valdez 1971: 39, 142).

Loanblends are also well represented in Chicano literature. The most numerous subcategory is blended derivatives with substantially fewer blended compounds and no examples of blended stems. Some examples of blended derivatives are troquitas < truck+itas; dompero < dump+ero (Rivera 1976: 9, 18), huáchame < watch+a+me; chaineo < shine+o (Méndez 1979: 23, 90), honito < honey+ito (Valdez 1971: 58). Blended compounds were found in poetry and drama. With respect to poetry, most terms were produced in works by Alurista; for example, pizcafire < pizca+fire (1976: 52). Valdez also generated blended compounds such as tacobender < taco+bender (1971: 106). This preliminary analysis of Chicano literature produced no examples of blended stems such as espeletrear < spell+deletrear, although such forms have been reported by linguists (Craddock 1976).

Loanshifts are also used extensively by Chicano authors. Examples of loan translations include perro caliente < hot dog, and perro de chile < chili dog (Méndez 1979: 35). Semantic loans are represented by both loan hononyms such as ganga < gang (Elizondo 1972: 42), and loan synonyms such as principal < high school principal (Rivera 1976: 14). Within the subcategory of loan synonym there are examples of semantic displacement such as pesos < dólares (Rivera 1976: 110), but there are no examples of semantic confusion, a category well documented in linguistic studies (Craddock 1976; Haugen 1950), and which includes terms such as librería < library. Likewise, within the subcategory of loanshifts there are no examples of syntactic substitutions like responder para atrás < to talk back, which have also been reported in works by linguists (Lance 1975: 50).

Other categories which were not produced by this preliminary analysis are hydrid creation and grammatical borrowing. It is not surprising that there are no examples of hybrid creation since this type of loan is relatively rare, although Haugen does provide some terms such as liósnóoka 'pray' which is composed

of the loanword liós 'God' from Span. Dios and Yaqui nóoka 'speak' (1950: 220). However, grammatical borrowing, such as mi tío's cama < my uncle's bed, and que yo no sé nada de < that I don't know anything about, is a much more common phenomenon which has been documented in works dealing with linguistics (Hensey 1976) and education (Lastra 1975). As a consequence, one would expect this type of loan to be utilized by Chicano authors.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature gives a clear indication of the types of loans that are utilized by Chicano authors, and it also gives an indication of the motivation for their use. For example, loans used by Méndez in Peregrinos de Aztlán (1979) are always generated by marginal characters, i.e., those that are marked by psychological instability due to the incorporation of habits and values from two divergent cultures and by incomplete assimilation in either (Stonequist 1961). Thus, one would have to infer from the low social status of the characters that loans are symbolic of negative social and moral qualities. In fact, the social status of the speaker and the utilization of hybrid forms have been shown to be concomitant factors (Vallejo 1976). The attitude demonstrated by Chicano authors is not unlike that displayed by language purists who feel that the impact that English has had on the use of Spanish is basically negative and represents an impoverishment of Spanish (Mallo 1954; Granada 1974).

In its most basal sense, linguistic borrowing in Chicano literature is a natural manifestation of language contact as well as cultural contact. However, its use is also a stylistic device which is inherently a statement of language attitudes. In essence, the exclusive use of linguistic hybridism by marginal characters symbolizes a perception by Chicano authors of the low social status of the marginal man, and the negative quality of loans in the Chicano vernacular.

Overall, this preliminary linguistic analysis of Chicano literature has helped to define the parameters and manifestations of language contact as expressed by Chicano authors. In general, the use of loans is quite limited, in fact, they represent less than 1 percent of the total lexical output. There was a greater use of code-switching and barrio slang than linguistic

borrowing. Unexpectedly, the linguistic forms they use are at variance with forms reported by linguists. This discrepancy may reflect a lack of knowledge of linguistics or a deliberate exclusion of the more aberrant forms. At any rate, the results help bring about a better understanding of the interrelationship between Chicano literature and Chicano sociolinguistics.

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